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Damião de Góis's *Livro de Linhagens* : An Untold (Hi)Story

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Damião de Góis's *Livro de Linhagens*: An Untold (Hi)Story

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Damião de Góis is amongst the most accomplished writers and intellectuals of sixteenth-century Portugal and is one of the most cosmopolitan for his personal trajectory and engagement with the wider European Republic of Letters. His life is well documented and his work has been the object of a number of important critical studies.¹ But for all the critical attention that his vast work has attracted, virtually nothing has been written about his *Livro de Linhagens*.² This is most likely because the *Livro de Linhagens* was never published, surviving only in manuscript copies, and because genealogy enjoys a minor status as an ancillary discipline.

This article is a critical approach to the *Livro de Linhagens* (henceforward *LL*): it will discuss the problems surrounding the authorship of the work and contextualize the writing of the *LL*, proposing a dating and sources for some of its sections. It will also place the *LL* in the public and literary career of the Portuguese humanist and situate it within the thriving tradition of the writing of books of lineage in late medieval and Renaissance Portugal. In the discussion that follows, I will include the transcription and translation of selected passages of the *LL*, such as its Prologue, shedding light on whom Góis was addressing in his work and how he perceived the task of the writer of genealogies.

¹ Amongst these are Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Góis: The Life and Thought of a Portuguese Humanist (1502–1574)* (The Hague: Martin Nijhoff, 1967); *Damião de Góis: humaniste européen*, ed. by José V. de Pina Martins (Braga: Barbosa & Xavier; Paris: J. Touzot, 1982); *idem*, 'Damião de Góis e o pacifismo erasmiano', in *Humanismo e Erasmismo na cultura portuguesa* (Paris: Centro Cultural Português-Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1973), pp. 63–73; Francisco Leite de Faria, *Estudos bibliográficos sobre Damião de Góis e a sua época* (Lisbon: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1977); Amadeu Torres, *Noese e crise na epistolografia latina Goesiana*, 2 vols (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Centro Cultural Português, 1982).

² There are few exceptions to this: Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Goesiana* (Porto: Imprensa Internacional, 1879), pp. 29–31; Guilherme J. C. Henriques, *Ineditos Goesianos* (Lisbon: V. da Silva, 1896–98), pp. 246–47; Teresa Andrade e Sousa, 'Lenda da Rainha D. Isabel: códice iluminado da B.N.', *Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, 2nd series, 2.1 (1987), 23–48 (pp. 29–30); and, more recently, Amadeu Torres, José Baptista de Sousa and Luís Augusto Costa Dias, *Damião de Góis: humanista português na Europa do Renascimento* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 2002), pp. 96–98. This article was submitted to the editors before the publication of the *Livro de linhagens de Portugal de Damião de Góis*, ed. by António Maria Falcão Pestana de Vasconcelos (Lisbon: Instituto Português de Heráldica, 2014).

Tracing the Text: Problems and Pitfalls

There are doubts surrounding the authorship of the *LL*, first attributed to Damião de Góis by two important seventeenth-century scholars, Diogo Barbosa Machado and António Caetano de Sousa.³ Amongst the reasons to doubt that Góis ever wrote such a work is that the *LL* was never published during his lifetime, unlike a number of other important historiographical texts such as the *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* (in four parts, published in Lisbon, 1566–67) or the *Crónica do Príncipe D. João* (Lisbon, 1567).⁴ As a well-established humanist with access to the archival materials deposited at the Torre do Tombo of which he was *guarda-mor* between 1548 and 1571, and the recipient of important commissions by the Crown, Góis had easy access to those involved in the printing trade in Portugal and abroad.

The other reason to doubt whether Góis actually wrote such a work derives from the analysis of the seventeenth-century manuscript copies of the *LL*. In his *A nobreza medieval portuguesa*, the historian José Mattoso raises some concerns about the authenticity of Góis's work, while admitting to never having seen any of the extant manuscript copies.⁵ Before Mattoso, G. J. C. Henriques had pointed out the various chronological impossibilities which exist in the manuscript copies that have survived.⁶ Amongst these is the existence of a chapter on the family of the 'Dias de Goes' which includes a biography of Damião de Góis, complete with his family ancestry, his travels in Europe and service to the Portuguese crown, and his death.⁷ However, the existence of such a biography in the surviving copies of the *LL* alone should not be reason to reject the attribution of its authorship to the humanist. G. J. C. Henriques also proposes, rightly in my view, that the initial part of the chapter on the 'Dias de Goes' may have been commenced by Damião de Góis, and that after the author's death someone else had taken on the task of updating it, completing the biography of the humanist. As will be seen below, the work that Góis carried out on the *LL* is to some extent a recompilation of the work of others before him, and the readers of the *LL* would certainly have been sensitive to the task

³ Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca lusitana*, 4 vols (Coimbra: Atlântida Editora, 1965), I, 621; António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da casa real portuguesa* (Lisbon: Officina Silviana da Academia Real, 1739–48), Aparato vol. I, pp. xxx–xxxiv.

⁴ All quotations from both chronicles follow these editions: *Crónica do Príncipe D. João*, ed. by Graça Almeida Rodrigues (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1977); *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, ed. by J. M. Teixeira de Carvalho and David Lopes (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1949–55).

⁵ José Mattoso, *A nobreza medieval portuguesa: a família e o poder* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1987), p. 49 and p. 49 n. 30.

⁶ This objection was formulated in his *Ineditos Goesianos*, 2 vols (Lisbon: V. da Silva, 1896–98), II, 246–47, and was also printed later in *A bibliographia goesiana* (Lisbon: Imprensa Libanio da Silva, 1911), pp. 62–63. Teresa Andrade e Sousa, 'Lenda da Rainha D. Isabel', p. 30, revisits Henriques's objections, but makes no further contribution to the discussion surrounding the authorship of the *LL*.

⁷ In the copy of the Biblioteca Nacional, COD 977, this passage of the text occupies folios 267^v–272^r.

of bringing the lineages contained in Góis's manuscript up to date — including even the biography of its author.

There are, in fact, solid reasons to attribute the *LL* to Damião de Góis. We know that the *LL* was deposited in the Torre do Tombo as having been written by Góis, and that it still existed there on 15 February 1622, thanks to the inventory of Manuel Jácome Bravo (*guarda-mor* of the Torre do Tombo). This inventory registered the *assento* of Góis's manuscript made by Gaspar Álvares Lousada (a temporary replacement of Diogo de Castilho, Bravo's predecessor as *guarda-mor* of the royal archive), who identified it as *Livro das linhagens novas de Damião de Goes, que segue ao Conde D. Pedro, que tem cento, e noventa, e cinco folhas com seu alfabeto encadernado como os demais*.⁸

However, before its disappearance, sometime after 1622, several copies were made from the autograph. António Caetano de Sousa, author of the *História genealógica da casa real portuguesa*, offers valuable information to ascertain the context of the production of these copies. He indicates that the decision to carry these out had been made at the request of the king himself (Philip III of Spain) and indicates that at least three copies were made and that their recipients were: the Duke of Braganza, Teodósio II; the Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo, Manuel de Moura Corte-Real, son of the influential Cristóvão de Moura; and, finally, a João Pereira, identified simply as 'hum Fidalgo do Minho'.⁹ These copies were signed by Diogo de Castilho, then *guarda-mor* of the Torre do Tombo. Of these three copies, only that belonging to Manuel de Moura Corte-Real has been identified and is held in the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, shelfmark COD 977 (former C-1-17). This copy later came into the possession of the clergyman and historian Manuel Caetano de Sousa.¹⁰ He then offered the copy of the *LL* and many other books to his relative António Caetano de Sousa, author of the *História genealógica*, so that he could pursue his genealogical and historiographical interests. In my discussion of the *LL* I will, therefore, refer to this copy and quote from its text.

We know that more copies were made in the first half of the seventeenth century:¹¹ António Caetano de Sousa himself says so, but is vague about their chronology and number ('alguns mais' [some more]), and omits the names of their recipients.¹² Amongst the other seventeenth-century copies of the *LL* is

⁸ There is a detailed description of this manuscript copy in Amadeu Torres et al., *Damião de Góis: humanista português*, pp. 96–98.

⁹ António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica*, p. xxxiii.

¹⁰ For the intellectual career of this clergyman, see Esteves Pereira and Guilherme Rodrigues, *Portugal: dicionário histórico, corográfico, heráldico, biográfico, bibliográfico, numismático e artístico*, 7 vols (Lisbon: João Romano Torres Ed., 1904–15), VI, 1059–60.

¹¹ There are eighteenth-century copies of the *LL*: two of them can be found at the Biblioteca Nacional, shelfmark PBA. 323 and COD 6835; there are two other copies at the Torre do Tombo: one, dated from 1713, is identified as *Genealogias Manuscritas*, 21-E-13 (also available in microfilm mf. 4316); the other bears the title *Livro de Linhagens de Portugal, de Damião de Góis* (reference: *Livros de Linhagens*, n.º 157). I did not consult these eighteenth-century copies.

¹² António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica*, p. xxxiii.

Cod. 49-xiii-19, currently held in the Biblioteca da Ajuda in Lisbon — but it is not known if this corresponds to one of the copies mentioned by Caetano de Sousa. This copy, which belonged to the Real Bibliotheca, contains 377 folios and was copied by seventeenth-century scribes (there are two identifiably different hands).¹³ The text of Cod. 49-xiii-19 coincides with the material preserved in the copy of the Biblioteca Nacional, COD 977, and its disposition.¹⁴

This copy contains material of relevance to those with an interest in the *LL*: appended at the beginning are two pages which contain a copy of the prologue of the *LL* according to COD 977 held in the Biblioteca Nacional (which bears some important differences, as I explain below) and additional comments on that copy of the text. The copy of the prologue and the notes are clearly dated, but their author is not identified: 'Copiado em 1-3-1921 de uma folha de papel collada no Codice 977 azul (C-1-17) da Biblioteca Nacional, o qual é o exemplar do apographo que pertenceu ao Marquez de Castelo Rodrigo' [Copied on 1-3-1921 from a sheet of paper glued onto Codex 977 (C-1-17) from the Biblioteca Nacional, which is the apograph which belonged to the Marquis of Castelo Rodrigo]. More interesting, however, is the loose folio which reproduces a note identified as having been written by Damião de Góis himself, and which was originally appended to the autograph of the *LL*: 'Esta memoria estaua escripta da Letra de Damião de Goes no original donde se trasladou este Liuro' [This note was written in Damião de Góis's handwriting in the autograph from which this book was copied]. The text of this loose folio presents numerous lacunae which can only be overcome with the help of the anonymous twentieth-century scholar who notes that the text of Góis's own hand had been included by António Caetano de Sousa in the Apparatus to his *História genealógica da casa real portuguesa* ('Esta declaração vem na Historia Genealogica — Aparato tomo I xxviii'). This note is relevant as it sheds light on the motivations of the author to have embarked on such a project and it points to potential sources of the work of Damião de Góis:

Este livro das linhagens houve eu Damião de Goes, Guarda mor da Torre do Tombo, per mandado delRey D. João nosso Senhor, terceiro deste nome,

¹³ For a complete description of this copy, see Carlos Alberto Ferreira, 'Índice abreviado das Genealogias da Ajuda', p. 10, n. 47. This index was never published, but it is available at the Biblioteca da Ajuda and the information is now available on the online catalogue of the Ajuda Library.

¹⁴ I do not think that the manuscript identified as 'Copia das Várias Famílias', shelfmark Cod. 49-xiii-20 is the same text as Cod. 49-xiii-19. Even though Góis is identified as its author on the spine of the binding of this manuscript, there is no doubt that this is very different in several respects. It is markedly longer (997 folios, vs 377 folios) and its index is also different from that contained in Cod. 49-xiii-19. This begins with the genealogies of the Portuguese kings, and moves on to the noble families of Portugal. The index of Cod. 49-xiii-20 does not identify any material concerning the royal families of the first and second dynasties (because there is none). The index also starts with (in alphabetical order) 'Abreus de Regallados' and finishes with 'Vasconcellos', but in Cod. 49-xiii-19, 'Abreus' features only in fourth place, after 'Anriquez', 'Anriques e Noronhas' and 'Alvaro paiz linhagem'. Carlos Alberto Ferreira, 'Índice abreviado', n. 48, ventures the possibility that Cod. 49-xiii-20 may, in fact, be the continuation of the text contained in Cod. 49-xiii-19, but this is unlikely, as all of the material identified in the alphabetical index of the latter is contained in it.

da Livraria de Sisto Tavares, que Deus perdoe, Quartanario, que foy na Sé de Lisboa, e paguey por elle, e por estoutros dous manuaes pequenos, que com elle estão atados, dez cruzados, aos herdeiros do dito Sisto Tavares, que tudo compilou com muito trabalho, e diligencia. Dos quaes livros, e papeis, e do antigo das linhagens do Conde D. Pedro com seu appendix, e o que fez o Doutor Pacheco, que ao presente está em poder de D. Jeronymo de Castro; e das memorias, que compilou Alfonso de Lugo sobre as linhagens, que, segundo me disse Antonio de Teive, recolheu D. Antonio, filho herdeiro de D. Antonio de Taide, Conde da Castanheira despois do seu falecimento, se poderia de novo compilar, e fazer hum outro livro, do qual as linhagens deste Reyno fossem mais allumiadas do que estão. E este livro com os dous pequenos, e outros papeis, tudo atado, e junto lancey na Torre do Tombo, 7 de Junho de 1528, Damião de Goes.¹⁵

[I, Damião de Góis, guarda-mor at the Torre do Tombo, at the orders of D. João III, acquired this book of lineages from the library of Xisto Tavares, may he rest in peace, prebendary at the Cathedral of Lisbon, and I have paid for it and for these other two small books which are tied up with it, ten cruzados to the heirs of the said Xisto Tavares, who compiled all this material with great persistence and diligence. These books, and papers, and the old book of lineages written by count Pedro with its appendix; and that which was written by Pacheco, doctor in Law, which is now in possession of Jeronimo de Castro; and the memories which Alfonso de Lugo wrote down on the lineages and which, according to what Antonio de Teive has told me, have been compiled by Antonio, the heir of Antonio de Taide, count of Castanheira, after his death; they could be compiled once again, and a new book could be written to make the lineages of this Kingdom clearer than what they presently are. And I have tied up this book with the other two smaller books and other papers and deposited them together in the Torre do Tombo, on 27 June 1528. Damião de Góis.]

The date of 1528 can only be correct if the note was written retrospectively: Góis says that he deposited the manuscripts ‘por mandado delRei João o terceiro’ (who ruled between 1521 and 1557), but the fact remains that António de Ataíde (1530–1603), second Count of Castanheira, was born after 1528 and inherited his father’s title only upon his death, in 1563. It was sometime after that, according to Góis, that Ataíde compiled his *Nobiliario das familias deste reino*, the title assigned to this work by Barbosa Machado.¹⁶ Therefore, the note was written at a later stage, most likely when Góis was already working on the *LL* or had, in fact, completed it — note the use of the conditional, not the future, in ‘a new book *could be written*’.

The *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* may shed some light as to why in 1528 Góis was so interested in collecting writings on the genealogy of Portuguese families. In Part II, §19, Góis informs us that, whilst in the service of the king, D. João III (sometime between 1523 and 1531), he had been commissioned by

¹⁵ António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica*, p. xxviii.

¹⁶ Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca lusitana*, I, 210–11. Góis does not seem to have known Ataíde’s work directly.

D. Manuel's son, Prince Fernando (1507–1534) to gather as many chronicles as possible, both manuscript and in print, and in any language. Góis satisfied the Prince's interest on historiography by spending a considerable amount of money collecting these writings (which, sadly, he never identifies). After that, Prince Fernando sent to Damião de Góis in Flanders a complete genealogical table of the ancestry of all the kings of Portugal, from the time of Noah to the reign of D. Manuel, to be illuminated by Simon Bening, of Bruges — a work which, we are led to believe, was linked to the request for chronicles made by the Prince sometime before.¹⁷

Narrowing down the time limits or circumstances for the writing of the *LL* will lead to chronological problems arising from the extant text. Without offering evidence to sustain his hypothesis, Joaquim de Vasconcelos suggested that the *LL* was commissioned by Prince Luís (1506–1555), sometime between 1548–49 and 1554–55.¹⁸ However, there is no mention of such a commission in the actual text of the *LL*, despite the references to Prince Luís in it, or even in the *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, namely in Part I, §101, which includes a summary biography of the Prince. If such a commission existed, then it is likely that Góis would have referred to it, as he does in relation to Prince Fernando's request for the chronicles, and even his own involvement in the commission to Simon Bening. Equally significant is the absence of a dedication or even an address to the Prince in the prologue of the *LL* (transcribed below).

It is unlikely that Damião de Góis started his work on the *LL* before his appointment to the post of *guarda-mor* of the Torre do Tombo: after his diplomatic missions on behalf of D. João III, he travelled extensively in central and eastern Europe with two longer periods in Italy (1534–38) and Louvain (1538–44),¹⁹ having remained far from the type of sources required to carry out this kind of intense archival research. If we are right in assuming that Góis had already written or started his work on the *LL* when he wrote the note, then the time window is sometime around 1563 (the year when D. António de Ataíde succeeded his father as Count of Castanheira).

¹⁷ This set of genealogical tables, known as the *Genealogia do infante D. Fernando*, survives to this day, and can be seen in the manuscript section of the British Museum in London (shelfmark Add. Ms. 12531 V det IXb). For a complete description of the manuscript, see Frederico de la Figanière, *Catálogo dos manuscritos portugueses existentes no Museu Britânico* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1854), pp. 268–76. The most complete study of this work, which includes reproductions of the exquisitely illuminated folios, is that by António de Aguiar, *A genealogia iluminada do Infante D. Fernando por António de Holanda e Simon Bening: estudo histórico e crítico* (Lisbon: Gráfica Santelmo, 1962). The genealogical table was first drawn up by António de Holanda, the father of Francisco de Holanda, and later sent to Simon Bening to be illuminated. The work would have been commissioned in 1530 and was left incomplete due to the death of Prince Fernando in 1534. These genealogical drawings are discussed thoroughly in Sylvie Deswarte, *Les Enluminures de la 'Leitura nova', 1504–1552: étude sur la culture artistique au Portugal au temps de l'Humanisme* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian–Centro Cultural Português, 1977), see especially pp. 107–08, 209–10 for the role of Damião de Góis in this commission.

¹⁸ Joaquim de Vasconcelos, *Damião de Goes: novos estudos* (Porto: Typographia de Artur José de Sousa & Irmão, 1897), p. 106.

¹⁹ This period in Góis's life is discussed by Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, pp. 90–128.

I believe that the apograph copies reveal that some of the material included in them was added at later stages in Góis's career, or even after his death (as discussed earlier regarding the inclusion of Góis's biography in the *LL*). Importantly, the royal genealogy which opens the *LL* leads us to suppose that it was written after 1554 (the year of the death of Prince João, on 2 January) and before 1557 (the year of the death of D. João III, which is not mentioned).²⁰ Though the birth of Sebastião (20 January 1554) is not mentioned, this is no reason to assume that the book was finished in that year, as Góis only listed D. João III's sworn heirs to the title in his list of descendants, and could have adopted a similar methodology with regard to the issue of Prince João.

However, the manuscript texts on royal genealogies which occupy the last folios of the *LL* were written and included at a later stage. In Part IV, §37 of the *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel*, Góis explains that he was commissioned to write this text by the regent, Cardinal Henry, five or six years after the death of D. João III, which situates the commission as having been placed in 1562 or 1563. Parts I and II of the chronicle appeared in 1566 and Part III and IV in 1567. In his later historiographical works, there is (understandably) a marked interest in the writing of genealogy, and both the *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* and the *Crónica do Príncipe D. João* contain several passages which discuss the genealogy of the kings of Portugal and other European royal families.²¹ In Part IV of this chronicle, after narrating the events leading up to the marriage of Princess Beatriz to Charles, Duke of Savoy (IV, §70), Góis includes two other chapters which contextualize the political significance of this matrimonial alliance and defend the illustrious ancestry of the House of Savoy. §71 explores the 'progenia, & linhagem da Rainha donna Maphalda filha do Conde Amedeu de Moriana em Saboia, molher que foi delRei dom Afonso Henriques' [ancestry and lineage of Queen Mafalda, daughter of Count Amedeus of Maurienne in Savoy, wife of D. Afonso Henriques] and is followed by another chapter discussing the 'progenia & linhagem do Conde dom Anrrique pai delRei dom Afonso Anrriquez' [ancestry and lineage of Count Henrique, father of D. Afonso Henriques]. Both topics are also explored in two different texts contained in the manuscript copies of the *LL*: 'Progenia e linhagem do Conde dom Henrique pai delRei dom Afonso Henriques, copillada, & collegida per Damião de Goes' [ancestry and lineage of Count Henrique, father of D. Afonso Henriques, compiled and collated by Damião de Góis] (fols 274^v–277^r) and 'Progenia e linhagem da Rainha donna Maphalda molher delRei dom Afonso Anriquez primeiro Rei de Portugal, copilada, & colegida per Damião de Goes' [ancestry and lineage of Queen Mafalda, wife of Afonso Henriques, first king of Portugal, compiled and collated by Damião de Góis] (fols 277^v–280^v). Part

²⁰ A point first raised by Luís de Mello Vaz de Sampayo, 'A família de Martim Afonso de Sousa, "o da batalha real"', *Revista de Armas e Troféus*, 2nd series, 6–7 (1965–66); *idem*, *Subsídios para uma biografia de Pedro Álvares Cabral* (Coimbra: Imprensa de Coimbra, 1971), p. xlviii.

²¹ Also, in his manuscript 'Lenda da Rainha D. Isabel' (Biblioteca Nacional, shelfmark il-223), Góis devotes a substantial part of the text clarifying the ancestry of the queen. For a critical edition and study, see Teresa Andrade e Sousa, 'Lenda da Rainha D. Isabel'.

III of the chronicle includes one chapter which illuminates the circumstances surrounding the awarding of the Order of the Garter by King Henry VIII of England to D. Manuel, which Góis explains through an excursus into the 'parentesco que ha ãtre hos reis destes dous regnos' [kinship that exists between the kings of these two kingdoms] (III,§ 24) and which corresponds in almost its entirety to the 'Discurso do bello parentesco que os Reis de Portugal tem com os Reis de Inglaterra, e Casa de Lencastre, copilado, e colegido per Damião de Góis' [Declaration on the illustrious kinship that the Kings of Portugal share with the Kings of England and the House of Lancaster, compiled and collated by Damião de Góis] (fols 272^r–274^r). The likely *terminus a quo* for these sections of the *LL* will be 1563, the date of the commission of the *Crónica*, and it is safe to assume that these were complete by 1567, the date of the publication of parts III and IV of the *Crónica*.

Anyone who confronts and compares the printed text of these three chapters of the *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* to the three manuscript texts included at the end of the *LL* will reach the conclusion that the manuscript texts correspond to an embryonic stage of the three chapters later included in the *Crónica*. It should be noted that the text of the three printed chapters corresponds in almost its entirety to the text of the manuscript copies with the exception of the initial sentences and the references to previous chapters of the *Crónica*. For this reason, one could think that the scribes of the copies of the Biblioteca Nacional and Biblioteca da Ajuda thought that they should copy these passages of the *Crónica* into the *LL* (due to their genealogical content). However, the 'Discurso do Bello Parentesco' negates this hypothesis: both manuscript versions include one final paragraph that is not to be found in the printed text of the *Crónica*.²² This indicates that the manuscript texts existed independently and that they were not copied into the *LL* from the printed edition of the *Crónica*.

Also, one could think that Góis finished his *LL* with three genealogical texts focusing on the ancestry of the first kings of the first and second dynasties to offer a structural counterpart to the genealogy of kings that opens the *LL*. If that were the case, however, the final line of the 'Discurso do Bello Parentesco' would go against what Góis had achieved with this lengthy *LL*: 'E se algũa pessoa achar este discurso maes breve do que se a tão larga materia requiere, saiba que as genealogias se vem melhor por arvores, e pinturas do que se podem declarar por escriptura' [And if anyone thinks that this declaration is briefer than is required for such a lofty theme, may they be advised that genealogies are best seen in trees and drawings than explained in writing] (fol. 274^r). It is, thus, unlikely that the three manuscript texts were originally included in the *LL*. This analysis of selected passages of the *LL* shows the type of problems of textual criticism that a critical approach to the *LL* will inevitably raise.

²² The paragraph is quite typical of Góis's style and revealing of his understanding of the significance of those in charge of the writing of history. See below for the transcription and discussion of the paragraph.

From Góis's note, we also learn how he perceived his role as a genealogist as that of a *compilador*, drawing from the work of others before him, of which he identifies Pedro, Count of Barcelos (author of the well-known *Livro de Linhagens*, written approximately in 1340–44 and reformulated c. 1360–65, and again c. 1380–83),²³ the clergyman Xisto Tavares,²⁴ and Fernão Pacheco — who was alive during the reign of João III, and was doctor in Law.²⁵ Góis does not identify the two other small books that he had purchased from the heirs of Xisto Tavares for the hefty sum of ten *cruzados*, but we are told that these had been *compiled* by Tavares himself. It is tempting and logical to see in these unnamed books the evidence of previous manuscript writings on the lineages of the Portuguese families — material that Tavares would have used as source for his own work, continuing a tradition of genealogical writing begun centuries before. An example of this type of work is the *Livro de linhagens do século XVI*, which, as will be seen, may also have been one of the sources with which Damião de Góis worked on his own *LL*.

It is clear that Góis's selection of material from the *Livro de Linhagens* by the Count of Barcelos incorporates both historical narratives and purely fictional accounts. For a historian who is so concerned with the historical truth, Góis is interestingly silent when incorporating into his *LL* some well-known legends, such as the story of the 'Dama Pé-de-Cabra' (fol. 100^v). Sadly, the material is copied and Góis never comments on how he reconciles such narratives with his own concerns for accuracy and truth. But whenever using the *Livro de Linhagens*, Góis identifies this clearly in the title of the chapter (e.g. *Do título 8º do Liuro das Linhagens donde decendem os senhores de Biscaya, e de Castella, e de Mendoça, e do Cid Ruy Diaz* [from the eighth part of the *Livro das Linhagens* entitled 'The ancestry of the lords of Biscay, Castile and Mendonza and the Cid Ruy Diaz'], fol. 98^v).

The other text upon which Góis relied for his *LL* was the work by Xisto Tavares. The autograph of Xisto Tavares's book of lineage remains lost, having disappeared from the Torre do Tombo, much like Góis's own manuscript *LL*, but the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal has two copies of the text. The title of one of these indicates that this may very well be an apograph of the text which Góis had in his possession, as there is reference to the date of its deposit in the Torre do Tombo: *Livro das Prencipaes linhagens de Portugal composto por Sisto Tauares quartanario que fui [sic] na se de Lisboa o qual por mandado delRey Dom João o 3º se lançou na Torre do Tombo em 27 de junho do ano de 1608 [sic]* [Book containing the principal lineages of Portugal, written by Xisto Tavares, prebendary of Lisbon cathedral, which was deposited at the Torre do Tombo by order of D. João III, on 27 June 1608 [sic]] (shelfmark COD 1328). The

²³ José Mattoso, *A nobreza medieval portuguesa*, pp. 57–100.

²⁴ Tavares (b. ?) died in 1525 according to Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, III, 795. His *Nobiliário* is discussed in António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica*, pp. xxviii–xxx.

²⁵ The work of Fernão Pacheco is discussed by António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

seventeenth-century scribe who copied the autograph made a clear error in the title page by identifying the year as 1608: Góis's note identifies the date as 27 June of 1528. Tavares's work has no prologue or dedication, but includes an index. It does not identify the families by alphabetical order, but instead by sequential order in the text. This may be due to the relatively small number of family nuclei whose genealogies the text explores (thirty-eight overall). Yet, there is no way of ascertaining whether the index corresponds to the design of Tavares's autograph. Comparing the *LL* to the *Livro das Prencipaes linhagens de Portugal*, it is possible to note that sections of Góis's work are indebted to Tavares's own manuscript: this is, as far as I could ascertain, the case for portions of chapters dedicated to the Eças (*LL*, fol. 8^v; Tavares, fol. 112^v), the House of Braganza (*LL*, fol. 20^v; Tavares, fol. 55), the Limas (*LL*, fol. 25^v; Tavares, fol. 123), the Castros (*LL*, fol. 140^r; Tavares, fol. 1).

Another useful source for Góis in the writing of the *LL* may have been a text whose authorship still remains to be identified and which has been dated to 1547–55 by its editor, António de Faria.²⁶ This anonymous book of lineages, preserved in a copy, identifies the lineages of more families (forty-six) than the work of Xisto Tavares. A comparison of the first lines of the chapter dedicated to Gonçalo Mendes da Maia between the text of the *Livro de Linhagens* of Count Pedro, the anonymous book of lineages and Damião de Góis's *LL* reveals that the latter presents more similarities with the anonymous text than with the narrative preserved in the *Livro de Linhagens*.²⁷ Furthermore, Góis's chapter dedicated to the Cabreiras family corresponds verbatim to the 'Titulo dos Cabreiras donde vem os de Vasconcellos, e os Alvellos, e os Ribeiros' [Chapter on the Cabreiras whence the Vasconcellos, the Alvellos and the Ribeiros descend] in the anonymous book (*LL*, fol. 236^v; Anon. pp. 174 ff.).

But this is not always the case in the *LL*. A close analysis of both texts reveals that Góis had other sources to draw from. The sections dedicated to 'Dom Jorge Mestre de Santiago' (*LL*, fol. 24^v), to the Silveiras (*LL*, fol. 28^v), the Mirandas (*LL*, fol. 31^r), the Sás (fol. 34^r), the Castellos Brancos (*LL*, fol. 42^r), the Nogueiras (*LL*, fol. 44^v) or the Britos (*LL*, fol. 45^r) are not indebted to the anonymous text, for example, and they are not included in Xisto Tavares's *Livro das prencipaes linhagens*.

That Góis was indebted to the work of his predecessors is a fact, and this may very well be the reason for the opinion of Manuel Severim de Faria, according to whom 'o Nobiliario de Damião de Goes fora começado pelos Chronistas antecedentes, e elle o acabara [...] E em algumas partes he taõ identico, que são os paragrafos inteiros' [the book of lineages by Damião de Góis had been commenced by the chroniclers who had preceded him, and he had completed it

²⁶ *Livro de Linhagens do século XVI*, ed. by António Faria (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1956). For a discussion of the dating of the text, see pp. xix–xx.

²⁷ The editor of the *Livro de Linhagens do século XVI* compares this text to the medieval *Livro de Linhagens* in pp. xxiv–xxv; the chapter dedicated to Gonçalo Mendes da Maia corresponds to fol. 165^v ff. in Góis's *LL*.

[...] In some passages of the text, it is so identical to them, that entire paragraphs are taken from them].²⁸ The identification of Damião de Góis's sources for the *LL* will only be possible if more books of lineages are identified, studied and edited, but Góis's own role as compiler of information available to him as *guarda-mor* at the Torre do Tombo should not be underestimated.

The *LL*: Motivations and Audience

The Prologue of the *LL* lays out important lines for the analysis of this work by Damião de Góis, namely his motivations, his intended audience and the organization of the work. The following is a tentative critical edition of the prologue which has taken into consideration the text of the manuscript copy of the Biblioteca Nacional COD 977, copied directly from the autograph *LL* by Góis:²⁹

Liuro das Linhagens de Portugal de 150 annos e 200 a esta parte tresladado na verdade de tudo o que se pode alcançar dellas, algũas antigas de que trata o Livro antigo que fez o Conde d. Pedro e outras modernas

Porque a memoria dos homens passa tam presto polla breuidade de suas vidas e variedade dos tempos e principalmente nestes Reinos de Portugal que nem de couzas medianas que se nelle acontecem senão escreuem sendo tam dignas de ficarém em lembranças, mas ainda das muito grandes, muitas dellas ficão por escreuer, e juntamente com isto, sam tam misturados os parentescos antre a gente nobre, que muito cedo parece que não seram necessarias pediremse dispensações, assi pelos esquecimentos que o tempo cauza, como pelos parentescos serem tam juntos, e misturados que se não poderão entender, pollo que querendo eu d'algũ modo fazer hũa breue declaraçam de algũas linhagens [folio 1^v] nobres³⁰ deste reino terá esta breue leitura deste liuro a maneira seguinte:

Primeiramente declara a linhagem real desde o conde dom Henrique ate *el Rei Dom João o 3º desse nome*,³¹ como se pode alcançar por chronicas e memorias dizendo em cada capitolo de cada Rei com quem casarão e quãtos filhos houuerão e o que se pode alcançar que se delles fez, quãto tempo viueram e reinaram, e isto atte ElRei Dom Pedro porque dahi por diante vão somente nomeados os filhos que houueram, declarando a geraçam que socedeo de cada hũ, indo a de hum Rei apos outro assi como socederam, e apos estas vem a declaraçam das linhagens de Portugal de 200 annos a esta parte porque os pais e auoos d'alguns destes nobres se acharam no Livro antigo das Linhagens que fez o Conde Dom Pedro, bastardo d'El Rei Dom Dinis.

²⁸ António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica*, p. xxix. Caetano de Sousa's patron was the House of Braganza, which may explain the negative comments on Góis's historiographical work in the *História genealógica*.

²⁹ The copy held in the Biblioteca da Ajuda, Cod. 49-xiii-19, occasionally preserves a better text, but it is shorter than the one preserved in the copy held in the Biblioteca Nacional, COD 977, and it omits important information on the methodology adopted by Góis in the compilation of this work.

³⁰ The scribe repeated the syllable *no-* ('nobres') at the end of fol. 1^r at the beginning of fol. 1^v.

³¹ I have corrected the italicized text, which reads in the original: 'desde o conde dom Henrique ate *el Rei Dom Henrique o 1º desse nome*'.

Este Liuro tera esta ordem e declaração que falla em cada capitolo algũa das dignidades que cada pessoa teue e se em algunm faltarem será por esquecimento ou nam terem vindo a nossa noticia.

E assi declara em cada capitolo quantos filhos houue e as filhas e com quem cazaram e não se falla mais dellas porque seguem i a natureza de seus maridos e nella declaram os filhos dellas.

E quâto aos filhos dos machos segue a geração do mais velho atte que ou feneçe ou dar no que ao presente he viuo, e dali torna para cima atte enchar [folio 2^r] dos descendentes do filho mais velho do que aqui he nomeado por primeiro na geração. E despois falla do outro filho segundo atte nomearlhe todos seus descendentes por esta mesma ordem e assi dos outros filhos se mais teve este primeiro progenitor.

E estas linhagens vão humas apoz outras sem nenhum modo de precedencias tirando as que descendem dos reis, e as que aqui nam forem bem declaradas, sera por não se poder alcançar certeza de como succederam huns aos outros. E muitas pessoas honradas hauera desses appellidos aqui nomeados que aqui nam são, por os tomarem por parte de suas mãis e avos por se não dizer aqui mais dellas como ditto tenho, que nomearlhes os maridos com que cazaram.

[Book of the Lineages of Portugal, from 150 and 200 years ago to the present day, copied truthfully from all that could be found about them, some being old lineages which are discussed in the old book written by Count Pedro and others modern

Given that men's memory passes by so quickly through the brevity of their own lives and the variety of times, and especially in this Kingdom of Portugal where neither events of average importance which take place in it are recorded in writing, despite being so worthy of being remembered, nor even those events of great significance, many of which go unrecorded; and, added to this, given that blood relations amongst the nobility are so mixed that it seems that soon enough it will not be necessary to ask for dispensations, both due to the forgetfulness caused by time, and the fact that blood relations are so mixed and intermingled that they will not be understood; for these reasons, since I wanted to present a brief exposition of some of the noble lineages of this kingdom, this book shall read as follows:

First, it presents the royal lineage from Count Henrique up to D. João III, insofar as it was possible to ascertain from chronicles and accounts, each chapter stating to whom each King was married, and how many children they had and, insofar as it was possible to know, what was made of them, how long they lived and ruled; and this up to King Pedro, because from this point onwards only the names of the children of Kings will be included, indicating the offspring which descended from each of them, one king after the other according to their succession.

And after this, the exposition of the lineages of Portugal from 200 years ago up to the present day will follow, because the parents and grandparents of some of these noblemen were included in the *Livro de Linhagens* by Count Pedro, bastard son of D. Dinis. This book will follow this order, and it will declare in each chapter some of the honours that each person attained, and if they are missing that will be due to having been forgotten or not being known to us.

And so, each chapter states how many sons the person had and to whom their daughters were married, and nothing else is said of the daughters because they follow the blood line of their husbands, and their children are indicated there.

As for the children of the sons, each chapter follows the issue of the eldest until it dies out or reaches the person who is alive at present, and from this the chapter goes back to the descendants of the eldest son which is referred as the first born in their generation. And then it moves onto the other second son until all his descendants are stated according to this order, and in the same manner for all the other sons if this first parent happened to have any more children.

And these lineages are presented one after the other with no manner of precedence with the exception of those which descend from kings; and, if there are lineages which are not well explained in this book, it will be because it was not possible to establish with certainty how they succeeded one after the other. And there will be many honourable people with those family names that are indicated in this book who are not included, because they take the names from their mothers' or grandmothers' side, given that nothing is said about them with the exception of to whom they were married, as I explained above.]

Acting as the keeper of the historical memory of the kingdom, Góis's remark about the lack of interest in the writing of history is symptomatic of his condemnation of the growing dissociation of 'arms and letters' amongst the Portuguese aristocratic class. The prologue echoes some of the concerns identified in the manuscript note which was discussed above, where Góis voices his disappointment at the lack of interest and efforts of the noble Portuguese families in the writing of the deeds of their ancestors, past and recent: 'se poderia de novo compilar, e fazer hum outro livro, do qual as linhagens deste Reyno fossem mais allumiadas do que estão' [a new book could be written to make the lineages of this Kingdom clearer than what they presently are]. Note that, in this context, 'allumiar' signifies 'to clarify', but the associated meaning of 'to render more illustrious' is not far from Góis's mind in the prologue, where he denounces the consignment to oblivion of the achievements of the Portuguese aristocratic elites.

In other aspects, the *LL* would also fulfil the same practical objectives as the *Livro de Linhagens* by Count Pedro of Barcelos, given that Góis sees his work as important because his information will help families avoid marriages that are deemed incestuous if the blood relationship is closer than is sanctioned by the Church.

There are important differences between these two works, nonetheless. In the manuscript *LL* there is a clear distinction between the genealogy of kings and the lineages of aristocratic families: the *LL* commences with the three dynasties of Portuguese monarchs up to D. João III. So, even though Góis had access to the *Livro de Linhagens* by Count Pedro of Barcelos, there is no intention in the prologue to promote 'amor' [friendship] — to use Count Pedro's formulation —

amongst the aristocratic families of the Iberian Peninsula or Portugal, or even to uphold class solidarity, both of which are important objectives in the *Livro de Linhagens*.³² Góis's *LL* is clearly a work which reflects an effective centralization of royal power, hence the precedence which is highlighted in the prologue, and which is a point of clear departure in relation to the work of Xisto Tavares and the anonymous sixteenth-century book of lineages.

This strict precedence is, however, in tune with one other important poetic celebration of genealogical ancestry and heraldry to be found in the *Cancioneiro Geral* (1516), which was composed by the poet and humanist João Rodrigues de Sá de Meneses.³³ In this sequence of *quintilhas*,³⁴ written sometime between 1508 and 1516, Sá de Meneses follows a strict hierarchy, commencing with the king and the prince, followed by the coats of arms of the duke, the *mestre* d'Avis, and the marquis. As for the aristocratic families, the house of Braganza is given a position of prominence as the first amongst the noble families of the kingdom for its 'sangue tam poderoso' [very powerful kinship]. Góis, on the other hand, makes no concessions to the status of the house of Braganza (fol. 20^v) in the overall scheme of his *LL*, and includes it after the titles dedicated to the lineages of the Eças (fol. 8^v) and the Noronhas (fol. 13^v).

As one would expect, the prologue situates the writing and the reading of the *LL* in a clear courtly environment, but for Góis's views on the intended audience of his genealogical writings we need to look elsewhere. The following two excerpts are transcribed: the first from the printed text of the *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* (of which *only* the italicized text is in the manuscript 'Discurso do Bello parentesco'); and the second from the final paragraph of the 'Discurso do bello parentesco' (fol. 274^r), which was not included in the printed edition of the chronicle:

[...] me pareceo razão darlhe [to the chapter] outra materia mais apraziuel, & neçessaria ahos que ha lerem: ha qual he tratar nelle o antigo parentesco que ha entre hos Reis destes regnos, & hos de Inglaterra, & *porque hũa das cousas que mais alumea has historias, & satisfaz ahos que dellas são estudiosos, he saberem uerdadeiramête a origem e linhagẽ donde procedem os Reis, & senhores, cujas chronicas lem, trabalhei tudo ho que em mi foi pera aqui dizer ho que disso pude alcãçar [...]*

[[...] it seemed good reason to provide this chapter with a more agreeable, and necessary topic to those who read it: which is to explain in it the kinship which exists between the kings of this kingdom and those of England; and

³² José Mattoso, *A nobreza medieval portuguesa*, pp. 37–55; Luís Krus, *A concepção nobiliárquica do espaço ibérico: geografia dos Livros de Linhagens medievais portugueses (1280–1380)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1994).

³³ For the work and cultural significance of this learned aristocrat, see José da Silva Terra, 'João Rodrigues de Sá de Meneses et l'Humanisme portugais', 5 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Sorbonne, 1984); and Luís de Sá Fardilha, *A nobreza das letras: os Sás de Meneses e o Renascimento português* (Lisbon: FCG–FCT, 2008), pp. 43–102.

³⁴ Garcia de Resende, *Cancioneiro Geral*, ed. by Aida Fernanda Dias, 6 vols (Lisbon: IN-CM, 1990–2003), II, 374–91 (n. 457).

because one of the things which renders history clearer, and pleases those who study it is to know the true origin and lineage from where the kings and aristocrats, whose chronicles they read, come, I have worked as hard as I could to communicate what I have discovered about that topic [...]

E se algũa pessoa achar este discurso maes breve do que se a tão larga materia requiere, saiba que as genealogias se vem melhor por arvores, e pinturas do que se podem declarar por escriptura, e alem disto as cousas desta qualidade não são para pessoas a quem natureza não separou do saber, e condições das alimarias, mais que na forma, e na fala, senão para homens doctos, discretos, criados e cursados nas cortes dos Reis, e Principes, e praticos nos negocios dellas.

[And if anyone thinks that this declaration is briefer than is required for such a lofty theme, may they be advised that genealogies are best seen in trees and drawings than explained in writing, and also that topics of such importance are not for people whom nature has not distinguished from beasts in knowledge and condition, other than in shape and use of speech, but they are for learned and refined men, brought up and experienced in the courts of Kings and Princes, and well-versed in their affairs.]

The inclusion of genealogies in the *Chronica* is important not only in that it is necessary to clarify the development of the historical narrative ('allumear has historias') and support Góis's argument, but also in that it fulfils the important aesthetic function of offering 'materia apraziuel' to the readers. Also, Góis promotes his own work, implying in the first excerpt that the chapter is a concession to an audience of experts — those who devote themselves to the *study* of history — and not merely those who enjoy *reading* the chronicles of kings. And the same idea surfaces in the paragraph which was omitted in the printed edition of the *Chronica*: one can say that the ideal reader of this genealogical excursus is modelled upon Góis himself — a courtier raised at court, and someone with direct experience of all aspects of the political life of the kingdom at the service of kings and princes. Significantly, Góis says nothing about the social background of his ideal readers, and, by characterizing them as learned, he is effectively making a nobilitating move which identifies his audience as the intellectual elite of his time, regardless of their ancestry.

The writing of lineages does not make for great prose, as Góis implies in the second extract above, and, as he would know from first-hand involvement in the commission assigned by Prince Fernando, genealogical relations are best explained visually. Was this one of the reasons why the *LL* remained unpublished? Or could the controversy surrounding his *Crónica do Felicissimo Rei D. Manuel* have impacted on the reception of the *LL*? The jury is still out. But I hope that this article has drawn attention to the need for further research into this work by Damião de Góis. The *LL* will certainly prove to be of interest to those concerned with the political life of late medieval and early modern Portugal, if Góis's historical rigour elsewhere is anything to go by.³⁵

³⁵ For Góis's activity as a historian, see Elisabeth Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Góis*, pp. 191–207.